

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03

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SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CCO-00 SAJ-01 ACDA-07 TRSE-00

EB-07 OMB-01 OES-06 COME-00 /074 W

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN BRUSSELS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SECTO 32043

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV PFOR GW GE UR

SUBJ: DECEMBER 1976 QUADRIpartite MEETING ON BERLIN AND

GERMANY: SENIOR LEVEL MEETING DISCUSSION OF FRG/GDR

NEGOTIATIONS

1. SUMMARY: REPORTING ON GDR DEVELOPMENTS AND FRG/GDR RELATIONS AT THE SENIOR LEVEL MEETING ON BERLIN AND GERMANY DEC. 8, FRG FON OFF POLITICAL DIRECTOR VAN WELL THOUGHT THE GDR WAS FACING SERIOUS PROBLEMS IN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FIELDS. THE GDR DESIRE TO CONTINUE AS BEFORE IN ITS RELATIONS WITH FRG WAS TEMPERED BY INCREASING INTERNAL PRESSURES RESULTING FROM A HIGHER LEVEL OF POPULAR ASPIRATION FOR TRAVEL AND FREEDOM. AS A RESULT, THE GDR WAS ADOPTING A WAITING ATTITUDE IN THE EXPECTATION THAT THE PACE OF FRG/GDR & EAST/WEST RELATIONS WOULD QUICKEN IN 1977. VAN WELL NOTED THAT THE FRG HAD NOT RECENTLY OBSERVED ANY FRESH EXAMPLES TF GDR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A LEADERSHIP ROLE IN

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EASTERN EUORPE; ITS POSTURE IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD

HADNOT BEEN HIGH OF LATE. OTHER SENIOR LEVEL REPRESENTATIVES CONCURRED GENERALLY IN VAN WELL'S ASSESSMENT AND REPORTED ON THE STATUS OF GDR RELATIONS WITH THEIR OWN COUNTRIES. END SUMMARY.

2. FRG FONOFF POLITICAL DIRECTOR VAN WELL REPORTED ON DEVELOPMENTS IN GDR. HE SAID CSCE FINAL ACT HAD GIVEN RISE TO RISING EXPECTATIONS IN GDR. THERE HAD BEEN AN INCREASE IN APPLICATIONS TO LEAVE BASED ONE THE CSCE FINAL ACT. GDR INTELLIGENTSIA HAD ALSO BECOME MORE SELF-ASSERTIVE VIS-A-VIS ORGANS OF STATE. THERE WERE ALSO ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, DUE BASICALLY TO THE FACT THAT THE PRICES OF THE RAW MATERIALS THE GDR MUST IMPORT HAD RISEN FASTER THAN WHAT THE GDR RECEIVED FOR ITS INDUSTRIAL EXPORTS. AS A RESULT, THERE WAS INCREASING PRESSURE ON THE GDR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS, ESPECIALLY WITH THE FRG.

3. VAN WELL THOUGHT THAT RECENT LEADERSHIP CHANGES IN THE GDR HAD TO DO WITH THESE DIFFICULTIES. NEW PREMIER STOPH WAS AN "IRON HAND," CAUTIONS, SOLID, A FORMER DEFENSE MINISTER, AND A HARD-LINER. GDR INSECURITY WAS EVIDENCED IN THE ERRATIC HANDLING OF THE BIERMANN AND HAVEMAN CASES. THE EAST GERMANS HAD PUBLICIZED THE WEINHOLD TRIAL AS A MEANS OF COUNTERING CRITICISM IN OTHER AREAS. THAT CASE HAS NOT BEEN FINALLY DECIDED AND THE FRG PROSECUTOR WILL APPEAL. HOWEVER, THE EAST GERMANS HAD NOT BEEN HELPFUL; THEY HAD NOT PROVIDED EVIDENCE OR PERMITTED GDR WITNESSES TO APPEAR. IN SHORT, THE GDR POLITICAL PICTURE IS MIXED WITH THE POLITICAL WILL TO CONTINUE AS BEFORE AFFECTED BY INCREASING INTERNAL PRESSURES RESULTING FROM AHIGHER LEVEL OF POPULAR ASPIRATIONS FOR ORAVEL AND FREEDOM.

4. IN REPLY TO ASST. SEC. HARTMAN'S QUESTION ABOUT WHETHER THERE WERE SIGNS OF INCREASED PRESSURES FOR CLOSER GDR TIES WITH THE USSR, VAN WELL NOTED THAT THE OCTOBER 7, 1976 GDR/USSR TREATY HAD BEEN AIMED AT CLOSER ECONOMIC INTEGRATION. THE USSR WAS INTERESTED
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IN BINDING THE GDR TO ITSELF. HOWEVER, VAN WELL HAD NOT NOTICED MUCH DISPOSITION ON THE PART OF THE GDR LEADERSHIP TO TIGHTEN INTERGRATION WITH THE USSR DESPITE ITS INCREASING USE OF SUCH SLOGANS AS "BROTHERLY UNION" WHICH APPEAR EVER MORE FREQUENTLY. RATHER, THE FRG SEES A GDR DESIRE TO CONTINUE ALONG ITS PREVIOUS POLITICAL LINE WHILE ADOPTING A WAITING ATTITUDE UNTIL THE GENERAL LINE OF EAST/WEST RELATIONS

IS CLARIFIED. THE GDR WAS WAITING FOR THE CHANCE TO
RESUME INTENSE NEGOTIATION WITH THE FRG. THE FRG
DOES NOT SEE ANY GDR WILLINGNESS TO FACILITATE TRAVEL
AND THERE HAVE RECENTLY BEEN SOME RESTRICTIVE TENDENCIES
IN THE GDR IN THE CASE OF FAMILY REUNIONS. IN SHORT,
THERE HAS BEEN NO PROGRESS IN FRG/GDR RELATIONS SINCE
THE SUMMER AND THE BASIC DISAGREEMENT ON BERLIN
CONTINUES.

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5. VAN WELL STATED THAT THE HARDENED POSITION OF
THE SOVIET UNION ON BERLIN QUESTIONS WAS ALSO REFLECTED
IN GDR POLICY. THE MOST DISQUIETING RECENT INCIDENT
WAS THE TURNING BACK OF THE JUNGE UNION BUSES ON
AUG. 13. RECENTLY THERE HD BEEN AN INCREASING GDR
TREND TOWARD SEEKING WIDER CONTACT WITH THE WEST
BERLIN SENAT. THE GDR TRIES TO DEAL WITH HERR KUNZE
AND OTHER SENAT NEGOTIATORS ON A RANGE OF GENERAL SUB-
JECTS; THE SENAT QUITE PROPERLY REFUSES TO DO SO.

6. ANOTHER POINT OF INTEREST TO VAN WELL WAS THE

ABSENCE OF ANY EAST GERMAN EFFORT TO ADOPT A LEADING ROLE IN EASTERN EUROPE SINCE THE "DEBACLE" OF THE BERLIN ECPC CONFERENCE CHAIRED AND ARRANGED BY THE EAST GERMANS. IN LAST FEW MONTHS, THE GDR HAS NOT ADOPTED A HIGH POSTURE WITH RESPECT TO EVENTS IN EAST EUROPE.

7. IN ENSUING DISCUSSION, MR. HARTMAN NOTED THAT
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US ASSESSMENT OF GDR SITUATION AGREED IN GENERAL WITH THAT OF FRG. BRITISH REPRESENTATIVE HIBBERT SUGGESTED THAT OVERALL PICTURE WAS ONE OF GDR GOVERNMENT IN SOME DEGREE OF DIFFICULTY. HE NOTED THAT WEST CANNOT HOPE TO AFFECT INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS IN GDR EXCEPT BY INSISTING ON FULFILLMENT OF CSCE FINAL ACT. HIBBERT THEN ASKED VAN WELL FOR HIS ASSESSMENT OF BELGRADE CONFERENCE IN THE CONTEXT OF GERMAN PROBLEMS.

8. VAN WELL NOTED IN REPLY THAT THE GDR AND THE USSR HAD BEEN CHANGING THEIR LINE RECENTLY ON BELGRADE CONFERENCE. THEY HAD BELITTLED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CONFERENCE IN THE PAST; NOW THEY WERE ATTACHING MORE IMPORTANCE TO IT. REFERRING TO CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN FONMIN GENSCHER AND GDR PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE KOHL AS WELL AS A CONVERSATION VAN WELL HIMSELF HAD WITH KOHL, VAN WELL SAID THAT THE FRG DID NOT WANT A CONFRONTATION IN BELGRADE. THE FRG ATTITUDE SHOULD NOT BE TOO ROUTINE BUT NEITHER SHOULD IT PLACE THE OTHER SIDE IN THE CHAIR OF THE ACCUSED. KOHL HAD TAKEN THE SAME POSITION ON BELGRADE AS THE HAD ABOUT THE UN WHICH WAS THAT THE GDR ATTITUDE WOULD DEPEND ON ATTITUDE TAKEN BY FRG. ASKED BY KOHL WHAT HE WOULD SAY ABOUT FRG/GDR RELATIONS IN HIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY SPEECH, GENSCHER HAD REPLIED THAT THAT WOULD DEPEND ON WHAT HAPPENED AT THE FRG/GDR BORDER. KOHL HAD RESPONDED THAT THE GDR WOULD NOT PICK A FIGHT IN THE UN. DESPITE KOHL'S ASSERTION, THE GDR HAS BEEN ACTIVELY HOSTILE TO THE FRG IN UN COMMITTEES WHERE IT HAD TAKEN THE LEAD IN INTRODUCING FRICTION.

9. REPORTING ON US EXPERIENCE, MR. HARTMAN SAID THAT THE GDR CLEARLY WANTS MORE TRADE WITH THE US AND OFTEN TRIES TO GET AROUND THE USG BY DEALING WITH PRIVATE COMPANIES. THE GDR ALSO USES NON-SUBSTANTIVE, NON-POLITICAL AGREEMENTS SUCH AS THE RECENT AGREEMENT ON FISHERIES TO CONVEY AN IMPRESSION OF A CLOSER US/GDR RELATIONSHIP THAN REALLY EXISTS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE GDR HAD RECENTLY SENT ITS DEPUTY TRADE MINISTER

DESPITE THE FACT THAT NOT MANY TALKS HAD BEEN ARRANGED.
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WITH RESPECT TO THE CONSULAR TALKS, THERE HAD BEEN
NO PROGRESS ON THE NATIONALITY QUESTION. THERE WOULD
BE NO OTHER US/GDR AGREEMENTS OF A POLITICAL NATURE UNTIL
THAT ISSUE WAS SETTLED.

10. FRENCH REPRESENTATIVE ANDREANI SAID LITTLE WAS
HAPPEING IN FRENCH/GDR RELATIONS. THERE HAD BEEN ADDITIONAL
ROUNDS OF TALKS ON A CONSULAR CONVENTION WITH LITTLE HOPE
OF EARLY AGREEMENT. THE FRENCH WOULD LIKE TT DEVELOP SOME
ADDITIONAL CULTURAL EXCHANGE WITH THE GDR. THE GDR WANTS
MORE TRADE.

11. UK REPRESENTATIVE HIBBERT SAID THAT THE BDR
CONTINUES TO STRIVE FOR CONSPICUOUS RELATIONSHIP
IN ORDER TO SHOW THAT IT IS ON AN EQUAL FOOTING WITH
OTHER COUNTRIES. THE GDR AMBASSADOR IN LONDON, KERN,
TRIES TO GET AROUND THE FOREIGN OFFICE AND DEAL DIRECTLY
WITH POLITICAL AND BUSINESS LEADERS. THUS KERN
SUCCEEDED IN ARRANGING A VISIT TO THE GDR BY THE
SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS BY DEALING WITH THE
SPEAKER DIRECTLY. HOWEVER, THE RESULT WILL BE THAT
THE SCHEDULE OF OFFICIAL UK VISITORS TO THE GDR WILL
BE DELAYED BECAUSE OF THAT VISIT. THE NEXT BRITISH
VISITOR TO THE GDR WILL BE THE MINISTER OF TRADE
EARLY IN 1977. SUMMARIZING, HIBBERT DESCRIBED UK/GDR
RELATIONS AS DIPLOMACY WITH LITTLE CONTENT. KISSINGER

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